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## FURTHER NOTES ON ISLETA

By ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

THE following notes were made during a brief visit to Isleta and at interviews with an Isleta woman at Albuquerque, in a hotel room, safe from observation. Mexicanized or Americanized as is Isleta, fear of revealing Indian custom is as marked there as elsewhere, perhaps more marked than elsewhere. A woman who spoke English in the vernacular, who dressed as an American, and had worked for years in Albuquerque, resisted all endeavors to learn from her not only words of ceremonial import but clan names or the native name for the town. (It is *Shiäwi'ba*; at Sandia given as *Shiwipün*). On all things Mexican or Catholic she was communicative and glad to be helpful. The leading man of the town, a man of property and position, a graduate of St. Michael's College at Santa Fé and author, so he said, of a book on the life of his people, was equally timid. The book is to be published after his death, he announced, "as a keepsake." He would have no dealings with a stray scientist—he was afraid to, said a neighbor, citing his fears as a justification of her own. In the hotel room fear of neighborly eyes was precluded, but even with this immunity fear lest supernatural harm might result had to be combated. Were my informant to fall sick at any time she would have to confess to her doctor her traffic with me. "I hope to God nothing will happen to me," she would reiterate. Her reference to voluntary confession was significant, of course; expressions of fear lest "something happen" for revealing native ways is common in all the pueblos, but the idea of voluntary or quasi-voluntary confession is, one surmises, essentially Catholic, a borrowed trait.

### KINSHIP TERMS

Mother, woman and man speaking,<sup>1</sup> *nana*,<sup>2</sup> voc. *inke'*,<sup>3</sup> desc.

Reciprocals:

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<sup>1</sup> No indication to the contrary, bisexual use of terms is implied.

<sup>2</sup> *nana* and *tata* are Spanish terms for mother and father (Harrington, J. P., "Tewa Relationship Terms," *American Anthropologist* (N. S.), xiv, 1912, p. 493).

<sup>3</sup> *nk'e'i*, recorded by Dr. Boas from another informant.

*infiuwei*,<sup>1</sup> desc. and voc., for female

*inuwei*<sup>2</sup>, desc. and voc. for male

Father, *tata*, voc.

*inkai*, desc.

Reciprocals:

*infiuwei*

*inuwei*

Mother's mother, *chii*, voc.

*inchii*, desc.

Reciprocal:

*maku*, voc. for female and male

*inmakuwei*, desc.

Father's mother, *huro*, voc.

*inture*, desc.

Reciprocal:

*maku*, voc.

*inmakuwei*, desc.

Mother's and father's father, *tee'*,<sup>3</sup> voc.

*intei*, desc.

Reciprocal:

*maku*, voc.

*inmakuwei*, desc.

Mother's sister, *kechu*, voc.

*inkechei*, desc.

Reciprocal:

*inöawuiwei*, desc.

In address *öawi*<sup>4</sup> would not be used, but the personal name.<sup>5</sup>

Father's sister, *kiwuu'* (*kyuu'*),<sup>6</sup> voc.

*inkiwei*,<sup>7</sup> desc.

Reciprocal:

*inch'avewei*,<sup>8</sup> desc. for female

*int'uuiwei*, desc. for male. In address

*ch'ave* would not be used, but the personal name.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *inp'iuwei* (Boas).

<sup>2</sup> *in* or *im* and *wei* are possessive prefix and suffix, e. g., *malē*, house, *inmalēwei*, my house.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Barbara Freire-Marecco, "Tewa Kinship Terms from the Pueblo of Hano, Arizona," p. 279. *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vol. XVI, 1914.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Boas records *ghwi* for address.

<sup>5</sup> No reluctance to mention personal names was observable.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Freire-Marecco, p. 278.

<sup>7</sup> *nk'uwei* (Boas).

<sup>8</sup> *nch'abewei* (Boas, Parsons).

<sup>9</sup> However, I did hear *ch'abe* used.

Mother's and father's brother, *meme*,<sup>1</sup> voc.  
*inmemei*, desc.

Reciprocal:

*chunu*, voc.

*inchunuwei*, desc.

Sister, older, *tutu*, voc.

*intutei*, desc.

Sister, younger, w. sp., *p'eechu*, voc.

*inp'eché'*, desc.

Sister, younger, m. sp., *inkwimwei*,<sup>2</sup> voc.

*inkwimuwei*, desc.

Brother, older, *papa*, voc.

*impapé'*, desc.

Brother, younger, *p'aiyu*, voc.

*imp'aiyuwei*, desc.

Cousin, *prima*, *primo*, voc.

*imprima*, *imprimo*, desc.

or

the sister-brother terms.

Affinity terms:

Parent-in-law, *int'arawei*,<sup>3</sup> desc.

Reciprocal:

*int'arawei*, desc.

or

Mother-in-law, *int'arakewei*, desc.

Father-in-law, *int'arakaawei*, desc.

Sister-in-law, *insuëyiwei*,<sup>4</sup> desc.

Brother-in-law, *inyewei*, desc.

In address, parent-child, sister-brother terms are used.

*kumpairi* (Sp. *compadre*) is the reciprocal term between wife's father and husband's father.<sup>5</sup>

Husband, *insuëwei*,<sup>6</sup> desc.

Wife, *inliawei*, desc.

Mother's relatives, *inkeamt'aiwei*

*inkeammatuñwei*, a more inclusive term.

Father's relatives, *inkaiaamt'aiwei*

*inkaiaammatuñwei*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Freire-Marecco, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> *kwim'u* (Boas).

<sup>3</sup> *nt'ürwei* (Boas).

<sup>4</sup> *insiüwei* (Boas).

<sup>5</sup> Boas.

<sup>6</sup> *insir'iwei* (Boas). Cf. Freire-Marecco, p. 279.

For great-grandparents there are no terms of address distinctive from grandparent terms, the terms are only compound descriptive terms.

*inchibeke*, my grandmother her mother.

*inchibek'aa'*, my grandmother her father.

*intebeke*, my grandfather his mother.

*intebek'aa'*, my grandfather his father.

Teknonymous usages were denied, but the denial should be tested by observation. . . . The cousin terminology should also be tested by observation. In the one opportunity presented, a woman called her father's sister's daughter and father's sister's daughter's daughter *kyuu'* "because when her father's sister died she had to take her father's sister's daughter for her *kyuu'*," a statement which is explicable only on the basis that the functions of the father's sister are important at Isleta as elsewhere among the Pueblo peoples. And in fact the father's sister does figure in name-giving at Isleta and in dance ceremonial. . . . Analogously in the matter of cousin nomenclature it was stated that a certain girl called her mother's brother's son as well as her mother's brother, *meme*. . . . As elsewhere, unrelated seniors may be addressed as "mother" or "father," and juniors, as "child."

#### SANDIA KINSHIP TERMS

Sandia (*G'aishiwim*) is a Tanoan settlement off the railway and about thirty-two miles east of Isleta.<sup>1</sup> The kinship nomenclature I recorded in Sandia presents the following variations.<sup>2</sup>

*innanei* (desc.), mother

*intatei* (desc.), father

Reciprocal, *impyuwei*, w. *innuwei*, m.

*bato'e*, mother's sister, father's sister, w.sp.

Reciprocal term:

*bach'e*

*imbachai*

*bakwem'*, father's sister, m. sp.

<sup>1</sup> Isleta is 13 miles west of Albuquerque, Sandia about 3 miles east of Bernalillo.

<sup>2</sup> Sandia people (*nañhun*) were said at Isleta to drag their words. (A like distinction is emphasized by Hopi informants in regard to Hopi dialectal differences, and by Keresan informants about Keresan dialects.) Taos people (*thūwinin*) are said to speak an intelligible but different dialect.

Reciprocal term:

*impaiwei*

Sister, m. sp., *kwemei*

Brother, w. sp., *papei*

Mother-in-law, m. sp. *intluwei* [?]

Father-in-law, w. sp. *intawe*

#### ISLETA CLANS

In "Notes on Isleta, Santa Ana, and Acoma"<sup>1</sup> I recorded a list of Isleta clans from a Laguna man who had grown up in the Laguna settlement within an eighth of a mile of Isleta. With one exception, this list which is conformant to the familiar clan nomenclature of the Pueblo tribes differs from the following list of clans or divisions I was given in Albuquerque, divisions that are theoretically oriented and associated with corn of different colors:

*thū t'ainin*, day or daylight people . . . East side (*dirbau*) . . . white corn  
*narni* (*t'ainin*), ? . . . North side (*dir'iu*) . . . black corn  
*pajini* (*bachürni*) (*t'ainin*), name of an ancient village. . . West side (*dürnan*)  
 . . . yellow corn  
*k'oapin'we* } (*t'ainin*), name of an ancient village . . . South  
*fiaruñwe* } side (*dūhu*) . . . blue corn

Zenith (*ky'ie*) and Nadir (*nīrai*) are represented by corn of all colors (*kwobutin*, all together) but there are no social divisions to correspond to these directions. My informant appeared to think that marriage was allowed within these divisions, but she could cite only one such endogamous marriage—in the *thūt'ainin*, on the part of the leading man previously referred to.

It was impossible for me to verify my earlier list of clans or the similar lists made by Bandelier and Lummis. (See Table 1). Informants stated most positively that they did not have clans (*t'ainin*) of that kind at Isleta. They may have been prevaricating, although one informant on matters which are generally held more secret than clan names was very frank. Three other hypotheses are tenable. The earlier lists may have referred to Isleta-Laguna

<sup>1</sup> *American Anthropologist*, vol. xx (1920), p. 56.

TABLE I

*Isleta Clan Lists*

Bandelier (1890) <sup>1</sup>	Hodge (Lummis) (1896) <sup>2</sup>	Parsons (1920) <sup>3</sup>
Sun	Sun	Day
Bear	—	Bear
Eagle	Eagle	Eagle
Goose	Goose	Goose
Corn <sup>4</sup>	Corn <sup>4</sup>	Corn
—	—	Chaparral Cock
Deer	Deer	—
Antelope	Antelope	—
Water	Water pebble	—
Elk	—	—
Moon	—	—
Duck	—	—
—	Wolf	—
—	Earth	Lizard (Earth) <sup>5</sup>
—	Mole	—
—	Mt. Lion	—
—	Parrot	Parrot
—	Turquoise	—

clans or to equations<sup>6</sup> of Isleta clans with Isleta-Laguna clans or to a sometime classification of Isleta clans which has been superseded. I incline to the third hypothesis. One Isleta informant had observed that the Corn people were included among the East Side people and the Parrot people among the North Side people.

<sup>1</sup> *Final Report*, pt. I. *Papers, Archaeological Institute of America*. Amer. Series, vol. III (1890), p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, vol. IX (1896), pl. VII.

<sup>3</sup> Published in 1920 and collected in 1919, but from an informant who had been absent from Isleta for several years.

<sup>4</sup> Both Bandelier and Hodge subdivide the Corn clan into four clans—Yellow, Blue, Red, White. I incline to think that their informants may have been referring to the directional distribution cited by my informants.

<sup>5</sup> At Laguna and Acoma, Lizard and Earth are two names for the same clan.

<sup>6</sup> In Zuñi lives an Isleta woman called Felicita (Zuñi, Pelise) who has affiliated herself with the *pikchikwe* clan. In the east there is no such clan. A mutual Zuñi acquaintance suggested that Pelise had joined the *pikchikwe* because it was the largest Zuñi clan and had the most prestige. This performance of Pelise indicates either some indifference to clanship at home or to membership in a clan which has no equivalent at Zuñi. The latter hypothesis is borne out by another Zuñi alien, Tomos of Laguna. He, too, affiliated himself with the *pikchikwe*, and stated to some of us that there was the same clan at Laguna. Asked by me for the name of it in Keresan, he answered that he had forgotten. Forgotten the name of his own clan! Everybody laughed.

Of further equations she seemed uncertain. At Sandia, where the existence of clans was denied to me as it was denied twenty-five years ago to Mr. Hodge, a girl had remarked incidentally that of the Goose people there was only one boy left in Sandia, and my Isleta acquaintance was positive that there were clans in Sandia, *i.e.*, divisions such as she knew them in Isleta, only people did not care to talk about them. Reticence, no doubt, but I can not but think it is reticence mixed with ignorance. My guess is that, thanks to Spanish influence, to the prevalence of Spanish custom in marriage and house owning, the old clan system has broken down and given place to a division based on directional distribution.

Directional distribution is a familiar pattern of organization in Pueblo Indian circles, and in the present connection it is a striking fact that Cushing found this organization feature characteristic of Zuñi clans. Neither Kroeber nor I found at Zuñi the directional clan distribution emphasized by Cushing, but directional distribution of the rain priesthoods, priesthoods based on clan affiliations we, together with Stevenson, have found.

The Zuñi rain priesthoods have a parallel or rather prototype at Isleta (and probably among the eastern Keresans) in the four clan heads, all men, of each of the four clan divisions—the *thūt'-aikabede*, *nart'aikabede*, *k'oapint'aikabede*, *bachürt'aikabede*. At the solstices these clan heads go into a retreat of four days to fast and pray. The winter solstice is called *tixu' kyaawe be'amba*, "south our father goes," the summer solstice, *tiu kyaawe be'amba*, "north our father goes," and the dates of these fasts are now fixed arbitrarily as from December first to sixth or eighth, and from June first to sixth or eighth. The retreats are made in the houses of the heads of the four clan divisions. The *thūt'aikabede* go in first, but there is no other precedence or rotation, and all the sets might go in synchronously. The head man of the set is chosen by his predecessor. There is a woman attached to each set to keep their room warm during their retreat and generally look after them, visiting their room three or four times a day.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As at Zuñi it is the economic character of the "priestess" which is conspicuous.



## MOIETIES

Between the clan heads or clans and the ceremonial moieties called *shifunin* or Black Eyes (*shi*, eye) and the *shuren* or Red Eyes there is, contrary to an earlier statement, no relationship. The children of a family are divided up between the two moieties,<sup>1</sup> the first born being assigned to the father's group, the second child to the mother's and so on in alternation, providing the parents belong to different moieties, but as the moieties are not exogamous both parents may belong to the same moiety. The *shifunin* "take from June to November" and the *shuren*, from December to May, and in this sense the terms Summer people and Winter people may be used, but the seasonal terminology was not familiar to my informants. Each group has its own head or chief—*shifunkābede* and *shurekābede*—a lifelong position to which a younger man is trained as a successor; and each group has its own estufa, *tulai*. These two estufas are square, non-detached rooms, the door surmounted by a terrace figure (*nabese*).

## ROUND HOUSE AND SPRUCE DANCE

There is a third estufa which, in the English vernacular used by townspeople, is called Round House—*tula kwirini* (*kwirini*, round). This estufa is used to dance in at Eastertide and, at night, in the *tiwa pūr* or Spruce dance of February. This dance appears to be a *shiwana* or *k'atsina* dance without masks.<sup>3</sup> My

<sup>1</sup> My Laguna informant made the same statement, correcting his statement of the year before. He added that your father would choose a man either of his own moiety or the other to initiate you and give you your estufa or Black Eyes or Red Eyes name. See p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> This is a correction to my earlier account, unless it is understood that the *shifunin*, since "they turn the sun back to winter," are Winter people, and the *shuren*, turning the sun back to summer, are Summer people.

<sup>3</sup> As noted in my first account the only masks worn at Isleta are worn by the *teen* or clowns, three *teen* from the Black Eyes, three from the Red Eyes. They do not come out every year. They came out last February (1920), and before that in 1914. Their masks are white with red around the eyes, and short, "doglike" ears. Unlike the *ne'wekwē-kashare*, delight makers of Zuñi and of the Keres, they wear no corn husks on their heads. They wear a coat and trousers of buckskin.

According to my Laguna informant the *shuren* clowns are painted red and white,

informant, indeed, equated *liwan* with *k'atsina*, saying that *shiwana* (*k'atsina*) was "just the same as *liwan*," spruce, or, as she said, evergreen. The dancers—thirty-nine or more men—wear the usual armlets, waist bands and collars of spruce, the usual pendant foxskin, *tuwexai* (*tuweh'thě*, fox), and the usual leg rattle of turtle shell and deer toes. On the left leg they wear a rattle of leather and those bits of tin which sometimes fringe a dance kilt. They carry a gourd rattle. Two stiff eagle feathers are on the left side of their head and some downy eagle feathers on the right. In front are two horns of red pasteboard, trimmed with silver buttons. The horns are called *nak'ee*, although *k'ee* means feathers. The face is powdered white with a lumpy substance called *tuñi*, and under the eyes is a streak of red. (This mineral pigment is got in Navaho trade.) The dancers are in single line, the two dance managers, as usual, in the centre of the line, and all sing as they dance. They dance not only at night, but in the plaza (*paěpinla*, middle of village) during two days, coming out three times before breakfast, and four times in the afternoon, each time dancing four times—to east, north, west and south. A set of dancers is presented from each of the square estufas, and they alternate in dancing, each set returning to their respective estufa while the other set is dancing. The *kabede*, either of *shifunin* or of *shuren*, is at the head of the line of dancers. He wears white trousers and buckskin leggings, around his head is a band of green (spruce, according to my informant but, more probably, yucca), and in his hands he carries twigs of spruce. He does *not* sprinkle meal, as does elsewhere the leader of masked dancers. (Indeed, curiously enough, sprinkling meal or pollen appears to be an unfamiliar rite at Isleta. Pollen (*bapthű*) is collected by women to drink in water as medicine (*nakű'*), a Hopi usage also.) Nor was the dance thought of in religious terms by my woman informant. The idea that it might be held for rain or for crops seemed really unfamiliar to her. It was only for amusement, although she admitted that persons who knew prayers might say them to the dancers, and that when the

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and the *shifunin* clowns, black; hence the names of the moieties, Red Eyes and Black Eyes.

dancers entered the estufa those present breathed four times from their clasped hands (*ishuchi*), "to have more life," a rite identical with the Zuñi rite of *yechu*.<sup>1</sup>

### *Wilawe*

In attendance on the dancers are the *wilawe*, seven of them, three or four from the Black Eyes, three or four from the Red Eyes, each group appointing three one year, four the next year. The *wilawe* wear white trousers, buckskin leggings, a blanket, and around the head a band of green. They carry a little cane—*wilawetu'*. Painted like the dancers, the *wilawe* are without horns. If the dancers' horns blow off or a piece of spruce drops or the costume becomes in any way disarranged, the *wilawe* play valet. Each dancer is given pottery and hardware by his father's sisters and it is the duty of the *wilawe* to pile up these gifts in the estufa so that each dancer may find his own to take home. The *wilawe* do not make prayer-sticks, but they have to learn prayers. (All these functions together with the term of office remind us at once of the *koyemshi* of Zuñi as well as of the *tsatio hocheni* of the Keres.)<sup>2</sup> Formerly the *wilawe* were appointed by the *t'aikabede*, the *kazik'*; nowadays they are appointed by the head of the *kumpawilawe*, *kumpawilawe ch'umida*, or, as he is called, *inkaawei*, my father.

### *T'aikabede, Kumpawilawe, Kaan*

The last *t'aikabede* (people, chief) died about thirty-five years<sup>2</sup> ago.<sup>3</sup> The people worked for him, their "father," the men bringing

<sup>1</sup> The Zuñi rite of breathing from the clasped hand of another was also familiar to my informant. It is done at Isleta in connection with the medicine man (*kaan*), after he has completed his ritual and is taking leave.

<sup>2</sup> Indeed the *wilawe* or *tuwilawe*, as he called them, were equated by my Laguna informant with the war-captains of Laguna. The *wilawe* in their appointment and functions are furthermore suggestive of the *akicita* or policing system of the Plains Indians. The *wilawe* are a part of the dual division which is in turn reminiscent of the organization of one of the less remote of the Plains tribes, the Pawnee. The bundle system of the Pawnee (see Murie, J. R., "Pawnee Indian Societies," *Anthrop. Papers. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. XI, 1916,—in each bundle, I recall, there are two ears of corn which are referred to as "mothers") is also highly reminiscent of the corn fetich system of the Tanoans of Isleta as well as of the other tribes. There is great need of investigation at Taos to throw light on possible cultural relations between the Plains tribes and the Indians of the towns.

<sup>3</sup> According to my Laguna informant, they then tried to make a *shuren* man

him wood and planting and harvesting for him, and the women going to his house to grind. He would settle troubles for people,<sup>1</sup> arbitrate quarrels over a dance, give advice to everybody. He was chosen for life by all the older men. He was not a society or medicine-man (*kaan*), and my informant did not know his clan. His wife, a *narnin* woman, survives. As she did not do well by the people, they no longer take care of her.

Presumably the *t'aikabede* nominated the governor (*tabude*) as well as the *wilawe*. Today it is the *kumpawilawe ch'umida* who nominates the governor, he nominating the two lieutenant governors (*těnyientlin*) and he, in turn, the two *fiscales* (*kaveun*). There is a crier, an old man who belongs to the *thūt'ainin* and who has been crier since my twenty-five year old informant could remember. He is called *axa'pali* (*axa*, our father) and he calls out from the roof of *shifun tulai*, summoning the men to a council meeting or to work on the ditch.

Dances are not called out. The *kumpawilawe ch'umida* decides on dance dates and men tell their wives at home about the coming dance.

As stated in the earlier account, the *kumpawilawe*, like any curing society, are recruited through sickness. "If a man gets sick, he can promise to become *kumpawilawe*." There are today, according to my informant, six *kumpawilawe*. (*Masewi*, said she, is the Laguna word for them, thus equating them with the *u'pi* of the Keres and the *apitashiwanni* of Zuñi.)

The *kumpawilawe* are on guard<sup>2</sup> for the *kaan* or "fathers" *t'aikabede*. "There were meetings, meetings, meetings." Finally the man died, and they gave up trying.

<sup>1</sup> Nowadays troubles are referred to the governor, the idea of referring them to the clan heads seemed unfamiliar.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably, as elsewhere, against witches (*shahüre*). Here, as at Laguna, a pinch of ashes will be thrown against the window or dropped at the door as witch prophylaxis. There is an analogous use of ashes by the Hopi, in Hopi terms, a discharming rite.

My Isleta informant would not buy a *manta* from Zuñi last year because she had heard that witches there robbed the dead to sell their clothes. In her belt she had tied a piece of (*pakuntli*) to burn its tip and fumigate against witches. The same wood is anti-witch fumigation at Laguna (*kchuma*) and at Cochiti (*Katshrana*). (N. Dumarest, "Notes on Cochiti, New Mexico," *Memoirs American Anthropological Association*, vol. VI, no. 3, p. 154, 1919.

during their curing ceremonials during which they fast (*behwehuñwe*) four days, taking, my informant felt positive, no food or water, but only cleaning their stomachs daily. In course of time, perhaps two or three years, the convalescent might join the society, unless he decided to pay his doctor at the time of treatment, paying him with food or calico or buckskin. There are but two sets of *kaan*, the *dűe*<sup>1</sup> *kaan*, numbering from fourteen to sixteen, and the *bir*, i.e., Laguna *kaan* (*birni* = Laguna people). The latter group of twelve to fourteen contains men both from Laguna-Isleta and Isleta. There is no specializing by the two groups in diseases. Stick-swallowing, fire handling, masking and dancing are not practices of the *kaan*. The *kaan* make no use of the estufas, having rooms of their own into which the people go in the *daikwan* or all round curing ceremonial of March. It is the *kaan*, not the clan heads, who are in charge of the *geide*, altars, and *iamaparu'* (Keresan, *iyatik*<sup>2</sup>, Zuni, *mi'we*), the corn ear fetiches.

## CEREMONIAL CALENDAR

*tixu'* *kyaawe be'amba*  
north our father goes  
(winter solstice)

Dec. 1-8

Retreats or fasts of clan heads who make *tuwe'* or prayer-sticks to take to the fields. The *mapũ* *tuwe* they make means corn with glumes (*mapũ*) prayer-sticks. Women bake bread for the clan heads to eat at the end of their fast and to take home what is left. All the men make prayer-sticks to place in the middle of the fields. Con-jugal continence is generally observed.

*Consision*

(Feast of the Immaculate Conception)

Dec. 8

*Guadalupe tuě* (day)

Dec. 12

At night boys, 12-15 years old, dance from house to house for Guadalupe. The people of the house give them bread, doughnuts, etc., or a meal at table.

<sup>1</sup> The word, I think, means village. It may be the same word as that for day, as the sounds are elusive—*tűe*, *tűwe*, *thűe*, *tűwe*.

These "village fathers" and "Laguna fathers" were equated with the Flint *cheani* and Fire *cheani* by my informant in Laguna.

*Gigehwi birxen aulawe* Dec. 16-25  
(our mother virgin feast  
days)

*nufe pür (füč)*<sup>1</sup> Dec. 25-28  
Christmas dance<sup>2</sup>

Four days dancing in cemetery in front of church (*namisatu*). Christmas night dancing in church. Men and women dance in two sets, *shifunin* coming out first and alternating with *shuren*. In the cemetery they stand in two rows, men and women alternately. In the church there is but one row. The *wilawe* are in charge.<sup>3</sup>

Jan. 1

Election of officers and of *wilawe*. Men go to the house of the governor and dance *reininad* for him, also to the houses of the lieutenants and "captains" (*wilawe*).<sup>4</sup> The governor throws presents of all kinds to the dancers, the relatives and friends of the governor having contributed.

*reininad thüwe* Jan. 6  
Día de los reyes  
(Epiphany)

The canes (*tu*) of the officers are "baptized," *i.e.*, holy water is sprinkled on them in the church by the priest (*tashide*). The outgoing governor hands the cane to his successor inside the court house (*kurtinadě*). Dance in which women join. Dancing as on Jan. 1 at officers' houses.

*liwan pür* Feb.  
Spruce dance

<sup>1</sup> *Noche buena?*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. C. Parsons, "Notes on Acoma and Laguna," *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. XX, p. 171, 1918; "Nativity Myth at Laguna and Zúñi," *Journal American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXXI, p. 260, no. 4, 1918.

<sup>3</sup> At Laguna the *kashare* are in charge of the Christmas dancing.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. "Notes on Acoma and Laguna," pp. 168-9.

<i>pa wir taratath</i> water ditch work	March, two Sundays	The ditchworkers ask the <i>kum-pawilawe</i> to make a dance for them that they may enjoy themselves and not feel tired from their work. The dancers come out in two sets from <i>shifunin tulai</i> and <i>shuren tulai</i> , the women dancers joining them outside. A line is formed all around the plaza.
<i>kaani't'ai</i> "our fathers are inside" or ( <i>daikwan?</i> )	March	The <i>kaan</i> fast and one night the people go into the houses of the two sets of <i>kaan</i> to be cured. During the four days the <i>kaan</i> make prayer-sticks to take to the fields.
<i>shramōn</i> (Indian) <i>Dia de los Ramos</i> (Sp.) (Palm Sunday)	April	After four p.m. boys of 8 to 10 years run relay races in the plaza. As in adult races the close relatives, maternal and paternal, of the winner pay drygoods, food, etc., to the boy who has been caught by the <i>chongo</i> or by the nape of the neck.
<i>kiath</i> (Indian) <i>Birnis santu</i> (Sp.) (Good Friday)	Easter and two following Sundays	Relay races by adults "for Jesus." The round estufa is used and the defeated runner has to clean it out unaided. As much as \$40 worth of goods will be paid to him if the winner is well off. All races are managed by the <i>wilawe</i> and <i>kumpa-wilawe</i> . A large pan of flour, etc., goes to <i>kumpawilawe ch'umida</i> . The races are <i>not</i> run either by clan or by moiety. See "Notes on Isleta, etc.," p. 63.
	Two Sundays following Easter (?)	Communal rabbit hunt for <i>homahode</i> , the two clan heads of the <i>thūl'ainin</i> . Three circles or drives are made and all the kill goes to the <i>homahode</i> . Afterwards each hunts for himself. Women do not go on the hunt.

<i>tiu kyaawe be'amba</i> north our father goes (summer solstice)	June 1-8	Retreats or fasts of clan heads. Prayer-stick ritual as at winter solstice.
<i>santu marburd (marv- orad)</i> "saint go around day" (Little St. Augustin's day)	June 16 or 17 or between June 10 and 24	<i>Limosana</i> in money or in wheat <sup>1</sup> is paid to the priest to say mass for the saint. After mass all start northward, four women carrying the saint, two in front, two behind. At the railway track the priest returns; the others go with the saint from farm to farm, all morning, going about that rain may fall (according to one in- formant not for rain, but for crops and against grasshoppers). As soon as the procession is out of sight of town, the church bells cease ringing. As it comes back into sight the bells ring again that the people may go out to meet the saint. Dance about 6.30 p.m. when the saint is carried all about the village.
<i>San Juan</i> (Indian and Sp.) (St. John's Day)	June 25	About 2 p.m. the church bells ring three times. A group of men gathers and proceeds to visit all the houses where live a Juan or a Juana. Each saint-named person gives a cock or a large round cake also called cock, <i>gaiu</i> (Sp. <i>gallo</i> ). The first cock or cake given is carried to the church. In the cock-pulling ( <i>gaiutawe</i> ) the cock is buried in the plaza, and the rider who succeeds in pulling it up as he races by on horseback is chased by the other riders who grab at it. Mexican dancing at night.

<sup>1</sup> At the harvests *premisia* are also paid to the priest—a barrel of corn, a string of chili, six *almoris* or one-half bushel of wheat.



San Pedro *athŭwe*  
St. Peter's Day

June 29

The church bells ring. Two groups of boys and men carry the banners of St. Peter and St. Paul through the fields. They pull up sprouting corn. One group goes one way, one, the other. When they meet, they whip at one another with big whips. The banner-bearers run off and carry the banners to the houses where live persons named for this saint—Pedro, Petra, Pablo, Paula. Every one of these persons gives *panao'* or sweet bread to be left on the altar for the priest. The corn sprouts are also left in the church. All the time the banners are out there is bell ringing and shooting into the air. It may be that the field parade of banners and the cock-pulling may both take place on both June 25 and June 29—my informants were contradictory.

*t' aipuminai*  
people doing (?)

Summer

Drought ceremonial.

San Agustina (Indian and Aug. 28  
Sp.)

People replaster the church and the churchyard walls and women whitewash the inside of the church. A bower is built in each corner of the plaza, the two corners nearest the church for the Mexicans, the N.W. corner for Padilas, the N.E. for Paharito, the S.W. corner for Isleta, the S.E. corner for Chikal, the settlement of Isleta people across the River. Under each bower is set an altar. The priest takes out the sacraments, children in veils following him and the people in two lines throwing flowers.

San Agustinito

Sept. 4

Celebration for Chikal where it was formerly held. Indian dancing as at Christmas, in front of the governor's house.

<i>kūmpūr</i>	Sept. 25 or 26	A tablet headdress is worn with
Sp., <i>Pinitu</i>	every three or	eagle feathers fastened to the
Tablet dance	four years.	corners.

<i>shim santu nim tue</i>	Nov. 1
( <i>shim santu natūwe</i> )	
All Saints feast day	
Todos santos	
(All Saints Day)	

<i>pūana tue</i>	Nov. 2	People take food to the graveyard
( <i>hōyanatūwe</i> )		and light a candle on the graves of
dead day		the dead they know. All is re-
(All Souls' Day)		turned to the priest who sells to
		the Mexicans, making perhaps \$50
		from the transaction.

*kurpuatūwe*  
Corpus Christi Day

July–August was noted as a non-ceremonial season because at that time people were busy cutting wheat. Similarly, October was devoted to cutting and roasting corn, and to stringing chili. In field-work the coöperation of relatives appears to be relied upon, and, as elsewhere, your helpers are fed at the end of the day's work in your house.

### BIRTH AND NAMING

After the delivery the mother is given a brew of raw egg and cedar (*huñ*) to drink, and on the fourth day she is bathed and her head washed in cedar water. During the confinement of four days she and the baby are looked after both by her mother and her husband's mother. On the fourth day the child is given a name by his mother; but this name is not formalized until the child is taken to the house of the mother's clan heads "to get his name and his corn," *i.e.*, an ear of corn associated with his clan. He has to be taken to this house by the woman attached to the group while they are in retreat—if he is born after June 8 he will be taken during the December retreat, if after December 8, during the June retreat. One name I heard of was Toib'awi (referring in

some way to the growth of corn) and it had been given by the woman's mother. Other names were K'yeku, Erect(?) and G'oa-wa, Cedar; but these names had been given by the child's father's sister. A child is taken by his father's sister to the house of her clan heads, during their retreat also and also during their first retreat after the birth. My informant explained that the advantage in thus getting a name from your father's sister lay in the fact that after you began at the age of fourteen or fifteen to join in the dances she would have to give you presents. The baptism in the church occurs whenever the *madriña* (godmother) is ready for it, having made clothes for the baby. At this time a child gets his Spanish name. When a child is a year old or less he gets his third Indian name—his *estufa* name. Before his birth a friend of his mother may have said to her, "Will you give your child to my husband?" meaning as a member of his moiety, Black Eyes or Red Eyes as he may be.<sup>1</sup> Then during the *pinitu* dance or during the December or June fasts the man, *i.e.*, the ceremonial father, will take the child to his *estufa* to get a name.

As usual, the child's English name is acquired at school.

A woman at marriage does not take her husband's name, either Spanish or English.

### MARRIAGE

The following account is obviously Mexican.<sup>2</sup> To what extent, if any, native forms may be observed I had no opportunity to learn. . . . "Unlike Laguna people," said my informant, it is the boy who asks for the girl. He writes a letter and a man (*aoñio-pinii*, bride asker) takes it to the girl's parents. By this letter the suitor is "asking for the door," *pidir un puerta* (*unahiliamirivan*). Thereupon the girl's parents summon all her relatives, near and distant, and before them ask her if she will accept the suitor, but even were she to refuse, they might force her into the marriage. (She is, we may note, very young. Like other girls my informant

<sup>1</sup> Membership in the Zuni *estufa* or in the Hopi ceremony which is part of the general initiation of boys may be planned for in the same way.

<sup>2</sup> And yet it has curious resemblances, likewise, with the Hopi marriage celebration.

had married at fifteen.<sup>1</sup> Her husband was twenty.) If the parents themselves refuse, some time within four days they must send the suitor a letter of refusal. ("They pumpkined him," *le dierun calabaza*—Indian *apawechevan*.) In accepting the suitor no letter is sent, silence giving consent, and on the fourth night all the groom's relatives come to the bride's house where they are feasted. Four days later the groom's relatives again go to the bride's house to be feasted. Two days after that visit the bride's parents have another letter written to give to two or three relatives to take to the "bride asker." In this letter "they gave him the wife," *le dierun mujer* (Indian *aliuwechiban*). The letter carriers are feasted by the bride asker and he and they go on together to the house of the groom's parents for another feast. The following night the groom's relatives go to the bride's house, taking with them the *padrinho* and *madrinha* of the wedding (the *padrinhos*, people say)<sup>2</sup> in order to appoint the day. This is the last of the *visita* (Indian, *naliopuñ*). A week may elapse. Meanwhile the groom goes out to the mountains and the sheep camp to fetch in to the bride's house three or four wagon loads of wood and some sheep. The night before the wedding the groom's relatives bring to the bride a trunkful of clothes, and the bride's relatives send him, too, some clothes. On the wedding day before going to the church the couple kneel and an appointed man hangs around the bride's neck a necklace (*prenda*, present) given by the groom, and around the groom's neck a necklace given by the bride. A blessing is said. All go to the church, the bridal party in single file, first the *padrinho*, then the groom, then the *madrinha* and last the bride. On the return, also in single file, the order is *padrinho*, groom, bride, *madrinha*. During the church service, or perhaps two or three days later in the church, the priest's stole is drawn across the shoulders of the couple—providing the bride is not a widow.

<sup>1</sup> Indian women stay young looking, she thought, because they marry so young and the babies follow in quick succession. My informant was twenty-five and looked thirty-five. Her fact and theory did not correspond, and I questioned her power of observation even more when she guessed me to be twenty-seven or eight.

<sup>2</sup> The respective parents being, of course, through baptism and wedding, either *cumpairi* (*compadre*) or *cumairi* (*comadre*) to one another.

After the service, congratulations and shooting off guns are in order. There is a big crowd, for all the relatives of the *padrinho* and of the *madriña* as well as of bride and groom are present. There are three tables, and the couple and all the guests must sit at each in turn—at the *madriña's*, at the table of the groom's parents, at the table of the bride's parents. In conclusion the groom's parents and the *madriña* carry home their table and service. The groom remains at the bride's house. After two or three days the groom takes the bride to his parents' house and in a week or so the couple goes to live in their own house.

As elsewhere among the eastern Pueblos, the house may belong to either woman or man, not, as in the west, exclusively to the woman. My informant, a woman, owned a house which she had inherited from her mother's mother. After her grandfather's death, as a child she went to live with this grandmother. Her mother, on the other hand, lived in her father's house. But it is her mother who owns the fields in the family. Her mother, an only child, inherited several fields, and her father sold his own field in order to look after her mother's fields. Offspring inherit fields or house equally. Formerly if there were no offspring, the property of the surviving spouse would be claimed by his or her mother or family. In recent years there have been lawsuits about this and now the surviving spouse inherits. It is a change which in all my informants prompted the expression of ethical opinions, an expression somewhat rare on the part of Pueblo Indians. . . . On divorce the property is divided between the man and the woman, according to their original title to it. How much divorcing there may be I had no opportunity to learn. An informant knew of four families where man and woman were living together without the legal, *i.e.*, American divorce which was in order.

#### BURIAL

Until about five years ago the dead were buried in the churchyard. The head of the corpse is to the south so that the dead, according to one informant, might rise and enter the church. Of interest in this connection is the fact that people are averse to

sleeping with their heads to the south just as at Zuñi, Acoma, and Laguna, where the burial is head to the east, people will not sleep head to the east. The burial is the day after the death. Water is poured over the grave, and the jar is brought home. Four days after death a bowl or pan of food together with the cup, saucer, or spoon of the deceased and a ring or bracelet which is broken are left out at night, back of the village, on the side where the deceased lived.

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